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*Sweden  
Security  
Character*

188-CSSWU

21 November 1951

SUBJECT: Bruno KALNINS

TO: Chief, ZACACTUS  
Washington, D.C.

ATTN: [ ]

INFO: (A) Chief, ZACACTUS  
Munich, Germany

ATTN: [ ]

(B) Chief, ZACACTUS  
Frankfurt, Germany

[ ] Following up [ ] acquaintance as a ZASEAL Political Officer, has met and developed an excellent relationship with Bruno Kalnins. Kalnins is the leading Latvian Social Democrat in exile, and lives in Stockholm, where he is one of the forty odd exiles receiving "fellowships" from the Swedish Government. He is a center of considerable dispute among Latvian exiles over his role in Latvia in June-July 1940, when for six weeks after the complete occupation of Latvia by Soviet troops (but before the intent of the Soviets to terminate Latvia's independence and internal control of its own affairs and to incorporate it into the USSR was announced or became apparent), he served as political advisor to the Latvian Army (and had his picture taken with Russian officers - See Attachment A - though in Latvian uniform). He is condemned roundly on this score by all his conservative enemies and himself pulls no punches in counterattacking them as "fascists" with vigor and enthusiasm. The length of time this has been going on can be judged from Attachment B, a translation of some newspaper charges and countercharges in 1945. Kalnins' background has been described in the following previous reports:

WSSW 1853 of 27 June 1951 (MORW 9231 of 4 June 51)-see [ ] 295 of 7 Aug 51  
WSSW 1441 of 9 October 1950  
WSSA 39 of 17 September 1947  
X 9393 of 2 February 1947  
TX 832 of 17 May 1946

2. Recently Kalnins has put some efforts into establishing a defense of his reputation and has come out with Attachment C, which he originally prepared (in German) for [ ] of the National Committee for a Free Europe, and addressed to the same problem as 54-CWSS. While it is overly argumentative and repetitive, it does indicate that a number of people are on his side, and his explanations sound logical.

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3. The point of the above is that [ ] would like and operational clearance on Kalnins, to the end that he might be used as follows:

- a. In general political warfare against the Soviets. He is the leading Latvian Social Democrat in exile (and Chairman of its exile party organization), and he is also a leading figure on the liberal side of the Latvian emigre picture. He is the Chairman of the Latvian Central Council (LCP) in Sweden, a leading member of the Latvian National Council of the European Movement in which capacity he now proves definitely to be attending its forthcoming Central and Eastern European Conference in London - see 158-CSSWU and 172-CSSWU, a member of the Executive Committee of the International Center of Free Trade Unions in Exile (in Paris), a member of the Council of the Socialist Union of Eastern and Central Europe (in London) and vice Chairman of the Latvian Relief Committee in Sweden (in which last capacity he advises the Swedish Government in its relations with its resident Latvians). He is friendly to the HRCURIO and [ ] and indicates every willingness to cooperate with us in any program we desire to push.
- b. In WESIREN operations both in Sweden and pointed toward Latvia. Kalnins has stated and Hiam has also mentioned it that he manages to arrange the transport of a few copies of his monthly Latvian Social Democratic Bulletin to Latvia, using seamen who call at Goteborg. He confesses that this is a very irregular accomplishment, but it does seem to offer something. He also mentioned, without the slightest prompting, the possibility of floating balloons into Latvia from the Baltic (see 161-CSSWU). Lastly, he is currently engaged in a study of public opinion and propaganda in the USSR, and especially in Latvia, which should inspire a number of good ideas on his part.
- c. As a chief organizer in procuring copies of recent Latvian documents (by borrowing the documents of the seamen mentioned just above long enough to photograph them), in arranging a channel of communication to Latvia and in recruiting agent personnel among Latvian trade unionists of his acquaintance.

4. Regarding a field check [ ] feels that we probably have sufficient information on Kalnins at present. An item of some interest in this connection however, is the fact that Kalnins holds one of the Swedish Government fellowships at the University of Stockholm (thus being supported by the Swedish Government) and there works under the general supervision of Political Science Professor Elis Hastad, a member of the Swedish Aliens' Commission and a Conservative member of the Riksdag [ ] has discussed Kalnins with Hastad; and Hastad has stated that he has confidence in him, that Kalnins may once have worked too closely with the Soviets but that today he is clearly on the other side, and that Kalnins is one of the best "scientists" (i.e., of the political variety) of his acquaintance. By reason of Professor Hastad's facilities for checking on Kalnins, his confidence in him is especially significant. Kalnins in the past was also a contact of [ ] who worked with him with some satisfaction.

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5. [ ] is aware that many people in the Latvian emigration (and, probably, many within Latvia) are very thoroughly opposed to Kalnins. Several of these individuals seem to be in a particular position of influence over some aspects of US policy. An example of this is attached as Attachment D hereto. This is a copy of a letter Kalnins wrote to VOA after one of its broadcasts. Kalnins informs [ ] that this broadcast (in Latvian to Latvia) was an attempt to inform the Latvians of the exile movements, but that it concentrated solely upon the conservative movements and ignored the liberal and Socialist factions entirely. While there may be adequate reasons for such omission, [ ] was somewhat unhappy to discover it in view of the effect of US and VOA support in these factional disputes, and in view of the considerable importance of the liberal and Socialist movements in Northern Europe (including the Baltic States during happier days). It seems to [ ] that we should make efforts to avoid identifying our policies with or coming too much under the influence of any political faction, and especially to avoid aiding the rightist factions at the expense of the vigorous anti-Communist support the Socialists can give.

6. One project which [ ] submits can be begun (and possibly accomplished) before Kalnins' clearance is the following: Kalnins is the author of an excellent history of the Baltic States, especially emphasizing the last twenty to thirty years. This book was published in Sweden in 1950 by the Socialist publishing house "Tiden" under the name "De Baltiska Staternas Frihetsskamp", and a copy is forwarded herewith (to Washington only) for Washington's information (Attachment E). Upon its publication, it was extensively reviewed in Sweden, and Kalnins has provided the attached summary (Attachment F) of these reviews. As can be seen, it received a very favorable reaction. Kalnins has prepared an English translation entitled "The Struggle for Freedom in the Baltic States", which is forwarded herewith as Attachment G (to Washington only). A perusal of this will show, as it did to [ ], that the book gives an excellent picture of the events and political forces in the Baltic States in recent years. The book has two defects: (a) Its English translation is very rough, and it would need to be edited by an American rewrite man before it could be published; (b) It has a considerable partisan flavor on the side of the Social Democrats. It is understood that this translation was submitted to the University of Oklahoma Press but not accepted by them for publication. [ ] mentioned it to [ ] during his visit and inquired whether we might have the facilities to shop it around or to get it rewritten. [ ] suggested that he has a cleared friend who is an editor of Putnam's and that he might assist in this regard. [ ] is thus forwarding the manuscript ~~xxxx~~ for this purpose. Kalnins has been informed that [ ] will forward it to a private ~~xxxx~~ friend or two of his in the US who might assist in its rewriting and eventual publication.

7. [ ] submits that it would be well worth some effort to secure publication of this book in English. One of the major problems in the field of political warfare on behalf of the Baltic States is the general ignorance of their fate and the procedure by which it was brought about. This, of course, arises from the fact that they collapsed at the same time as the fall of France and they consequently received little publicity. [ ] has read Albert Kalmes'

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"Total Terror" and is not very highly impressed by it as a satisfaction of this need. F.W. Pick's "The Baltic States" is better, but is still not really satisfactory. It is submitted that publication of this rather scholarly and yet damning account by Kalnins would be an excellent step in bringing the problem of the Baltic States and their demand for freedom to the attention of the English speaking (and reading) world.

8: Since Attachment G is, to [ ] knowledge, the only English manuscript of this book, it is requested that it not be marked up or mutilated without further consultation with Kalnins. It is also requested that if ZACACTUS should decide not to assist in its publication or is unable to arrange this, that it be returned intact to [ ] to give back to Kalnins.

10/ [ ]

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